

PEOPLE
La Scala's Musicians
Mock Corps de Ballet

At Milan's La Scala, the orchestra and the corps de ballet...
The opera was...
The corps de ballet...
The orchestra...
The opera...
The corps de ballet...
The orchestra...
The opera...
The corps de ballet...

Profits rose at three big U.S. banks, while Security Pacific posted a loss. Page 11.

Improved by half a yen on hopes for a U.S. recovery buoyed by overseas trade. The U.S. currency also finished higher in European trading.

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Economists added another note of caution, saying that the steady rise of U.S. exports to Western Europe to a surplus of \$2.63 billion in February, which also accounts for much of the narrowing of the deficit, would not continue as the European economies weaken.

Still, they largely agreed with Stephen Roach of Morgan Stanley that resilient U.S. exports would "continue to support" the American recovery.

There was a new record in exports when the rest of the world was in a downturn," Mr. Roach said.

Cynthia Latta of DRI/McGraw Hill said U.S. exports would still be in demand in Latin America and Asia, where the U.S. trade surplus also has been growing or at least remained steady.

HERALD INTERNATIONAL Tribune

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Amsterdam	10.50	London	1.00	Paris	1.00
Berlin	10.50	Madrid	1.00	Rome	1.00
Bombay	10.50	Stockholm	1.00	Singapore	1.00
Buenos Aires	10.50	Switzerland	1.00	Tokyo	1.00
Calcutta	10.50	U.S. Dollar	1.00		
Colon	10.50				
Hong Kong	10.50				
Kuala Lumpur	10.50				
Manila	10.50				
Mumbai	10.50				
Osaka	10.50				
Panama	10.50				
Perth	10.50				
Rangoon	10.50				
San Francisco	10.50				
Seoul	10.50				
Singapore	10.50				
Taipei	10.50				
Tel Aviv	10.50				
Yokohama	10.50				

Trade Deficit Hits 9-Year Low in U.S. as Exports Swell

Dollar Moves Higher On February Figures And New Jobless Data

By Lawrence Malkin
International Herald Tribune
NEW YORK — Despite a slowing world economy, rising U.S. exports helped shrink the trade deficit in February to \$3.4 billion, its lowest level in nine years, the Commerce Department said Thursday.

Another, more hesitant sign of economic strength also appeared in shrinking weekly unemployment figures. Together, the statistics make up dollar buyers in the closing hours before the Easter weekend.

The dollar jumped over half a penny against the Deutsche mark in New York and

improved by half a yen on hopes for a U.S. recovery buoyed by overseas trade. The U.S. currency also finished higher in European trading.

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Still, they largely agreed with Stephen Roach of Morgan Stanley that resilient U.S. exports would "continue to support" the American recovery.

Will De Benedetti Serve Time in Jail?

Analysts Expect Ambrosiano Fraud Conviction to Fall

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune
Carlo De Benedetti, the Italian financier who built up the Olivetti business conglomerate and created an international empire ranging from food to fashion, was convicted Thursday and sentenced to six years in prison for his role in the fraudulent bankruptcy of Banco Ambrosiano.

Mr. Calvi was found hanging under a London bridge two months before the bank crashed with debts of \$1 billion in 1982. Although the death was officially ruled a suicide, an informant told investigators last year that the Mafia had murdered Mr. Calvi.

It is "extremely unlikely" that Mr. De Benedetti will serve a jail sentence, said Marie-Christine Keith, of County NatWest. "But then," she said, "some people do not think it was likely he would be sentenced."



Mr. De Benedetti: Court ruling officially takes the sheen off a golden reputation.



Palestinian women passing by closed shops in East Jerusalem on Thursday. A strike was also called in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to protest sanctions imposed on Libya.

Libya Expels Some Diplomats In Retaliation

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
TRIPOLI — Libya on Thursday began expelling diplomats of countries that supported UN sanctions against Tripoli, and Moammar Gadhafi's government assailed the sanctions as a plot against Islam.

The sanctions committee chairman, André Erdos, Hungary's UN ambassador, said that three main categories of humanitarian flights were envisaged — flights to evacuate foreign nationals wishing to leave Libya, flights to accommodate people wishing to take part in the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and cases of medical emergency.

Under temporary guidelines agreed on by the committee, such flights would be approved automatically within 48 hours of the receipt of a formal request, provided no member of the committee objected. This is referred to as the "no objection" procedure.

Japan, in First, Punishes Sex Harassers

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service
TOKYO — In a decision hailed by women's groups as the first successful legal action against sexual harassment in Japan, a district court ruled Thursday that a company and one of its male employees had violated a woman's rights because of crude remarks that drove her to quit her job.

By comparison to other countries, the women's movement in Japan is minuscule in size and has had few legal victories. The issue of sexual harassment has risen only in the last three years as one of the few major issues the movement has tried to advance.

A New Turn in Fight Against Crib Death

By Robert Steinbrook
Los Angeles Times Service
LOS ANGELES — A healthy baby born at term should be placed to sleep on the side or the back, not the stomach, according to a new report by the American Academy of Pediatrics.

The report was made public Wednesday at an academy meeting in New York City. In it, researchers acknowledged that a link between the syndrome and sleeping position had not been proven and that the cause of crib death was not known.

The New Korean War: Unstoppable Tycoon vs. Seoul

By Lawrence Zuckerman
International Herald Tribune
SEOUL — Each morning for the past few months, residents of this bustling capital have opened their newspapers looking for the answer to a single question: Is there anything that will stop Chung Ju Yung?

Mr. Roh's successor in the presidential election in December, neither side appears to be backing down.

On Thursday, Chung Mong Hon, a son of Mr. Chung and vice chairman of Hyundai Merchant Marine Co., was told to appear before prosecutors for questioning on charges of tax evasion; he is expected to be arrested Saturday.

Two former Hyundai presidents who are advisers to Mr. Chung were arrested earlier this week amid allegations that the merchant marine unit operated a multimillion-dollar fund. There are even hints that the government might try to discredit Mr. Chung by raising questions about his personal life.

Kiosk

U.S. Permits Israelis To Sell Jets to Taipei

WASHINGTON (AP) — The United States has given Israel permission to sell Taiwan Israeli-made jet fighters containing U.S.-built engines, administration officials say.

General News
Perry's leader is acting like the emperor he said he did not want to be. Page 7.

House Republicans wimper under the check-writing scandal. Page 3.

Business/Finance

Taiwan Aerospace may not be able to finance its planned 40 percent stake in McDonnell Douglas's commercial aircraft. Page 15.	Dow Close
The Caterpillar strike shows U.S. companies have up-per hand. Page 11.	Up
	12.74
	3,396.50
	The Dollar in New York
	DM 1.6695
	£ 1.745
	¥ 133.95
	FF 5.6405

Potshots Over Check-Kiting Backfire on the Republicans

By Clifford Krause New York Times Service SAN DIEGO — Only a month ago Republicans heralded the House bank scandal as a great opportunity to retake control of Congress. But now the war is beginning to sound more like a whimper. The number of Republicans accused by the affair is growing. And with each new casualty, tensions grow.



LEND ME YOUR AURA — Representative Joseph P. Kennedy 2d of Massachusetts, left, sharing the stage with Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential aspirant, at a campaign stop in Los Angeles.

Funding Loophole Enables Candidates To Raise a Bundle

By Ann Devroy and Mark Stencel Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — The Michigan fund-raiser looked like any of the other fancy galas President George Bush has been throwing to raise campaign money, but when his aides picked up their programs at the \$1.1 million dinner, they spotted some political dynamite: Five corporations were listed as major donors, despite a law banning corporate contributions.

Who's Who on Bad-Check List

Following is a list of current House members and the number of overdrafts for each at the defunct House bank. The list was released Thursday by the House ethics committee and distributed by The Associated Press.

Iran-Contra Prosecutor Focuses On Roles of Weinberger and Shultz

By George Lardner Jr. Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — Former Secretary of State George P. Shultz and former Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger have come under investigation by special prosecutors in the waning days of their inquiry into the Iran-contra affair.

Black Police Chief For Los Angeles

The Associated Press LOS ANGELES — Police Commissioner Willie L. Williams of Philadelphia has been selected as the first black police chief in Los Angeles, taking over a department jolted by allegations of racism and brutality.

UPDATE

Update on various news items including airline crash, medical equipment, and other brief news.

LIBYA: Diplomats Are Expelled

(Continued from page 1) Most of the foreigners aboard the ship work for oil companies — a large number for the Italian company ENI — and many of them were leaving the country as part of their regular leave.

CRIB: A New Turn

(Continued from page 1) about one-quarter of the cases, Dr. Brooks said. There is no shortage of theories about the cause of the ailment. Most relate to deficiencies in the newborn resulting in failure to adapt to life outside the womb.

Advertisement for Sprint Express service. Includes text: 'Some of the things you'll need if you call home without Sprint Express.' and a table of international calling rates for various countries.

Advertisement for Sprint service. Includes text: 'Foreign money. Foreign operators. Foreign languages.' and a list of international access numbers for various countries.

Asia

Africa

Latin America

North America

Europe

Middle East

South America

Oceania

World

Special Reports

Columns

Opinion

Editorial

Letters

Classified

Obituary

Births

Deaths

Funeral Notices

Real Estate

Automotive

Travel

Food

Arts

Books

Music

Television

Radios

Video

Games

Computers

Internet

Mobile

Other



DESIGNED FOR LIVING—A businessman trying on a bulletproof vest Thursday in Tokyo. Retailers say sales have increased following recent attacks on Japanese executives abroad.

ASIAN TOPICS

Two Buddha Films Take Separate Paths

Two films about Buddha are in the making 2,500 years after his death. The director of one of the films, Mira Nair of India, said the other picture, to be directed by Bernardo Bertolucci of Italy, would be very different from hers.

Wangfujing, a commercial thoroughfare just off Tiananmen Square in the heart of the city.

The fast-food chain is called Maidaogang in Chinese. McDonald's already has an outlet in the southern city of Shenzhen bordering Hong Kong. Kentucky Fried Chicken and Pizza Hut both have thriving branches in Beijing.

Captured U.S. fliers called it the "Hanoi Hilton," and one Vietnamese authorities want to raise the French-built Hoa Lo prison in central Hanoi even though it has become something of a tourist attraction for visiting Americans. The official Nhan Dan newspaper quoted Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet as saying that the prison should be replaced by offices or an international business center.

Around Asia

McDonald's will open its first outlet in Beijing next week

ARTHUR HIGBEE

KOREA: In New War, an Unstoppable Tycoon Takes on the Government

(Continued from page 1)

save the nation. His attacks on President Roh's government allege incompetence and economic mismanagement. He promises to fight crime, end corruption, bring down inflation, ease credit and keep the government out of the boardroom. He portrays himself as a Korean Horatio Alger story, someone who made it on his own while other companies, such as Daewoo, depended on handouts from the government.

Indeed, Mr. Chung's defiance is all the more remarkable because it is the first major rebellion in the traditional business-government partnership that lifted South Korea from ashes to one of the top industrial powers in the world in little more than a generation.

Mr. Chung, who was a poor peasant, ran away from his village in the North and worked as a laborer and merchant before founding Hyundai as an auto-repair shop in 1946. In the 1960s, with the help of cheap credit, land and labor provided by the authoritarian regime of Park Chung Hee, Mr. Chung and other energetic entrepreneurs created Korea's vast chaebol.

Hyundai, which vies with Samsung for the status of largest chaebol, now operates the biggest shipyard in the world, is the biggest automaker in Korea, owns a major heavy construction company, and has vast holdings in electronics, steel, trading and financial services. Combined unconsolidated sales from the group's 43 member companies totaled \$50 billion last year, according to the company.

But as the chaebol and the families who controlled them grew wealthy, they became increasingly resented by less fortunate Koreans who suffered under the often brutal Park

Chung Hee regime. After Mr. Park was assassinated in 1979 and replaced by Chun Doo Hwan, the new government used its powers to try to run in big business, which it saw as a potential threat.

Mr. Roh's more democratic government, which came to power in 1987, has also tried to blunt the power of the chaebol in an effort to gain popularity and dampen the influence of big business. But it has also depended on them to maintain rapid economic growth in South Korea.

Occasionally there are cracks in Mr. Chung's populist veneer, such as when he asserted recently that North Korean agents were behind Hyundai's restive labor unions, but the government's attacks seem to have given him all the legitimacy he needs.

"People who don't know him personally may say he is a hypocrite," said Kim Dong Gil, vice chairman of the Unification National Party and a former professor at the prestigious Yonsei University, "but for so many years he was thinking the existing system was no good."

The party has not yet picked a presidential candidate, and Mr. Chung has not said whether he would accept the nomination, but Mr. Kim said he would work hard to persuade Mr. Chung to run. He said Mr. Chung had completely separated himself from Hyundai and would not favor the company if he won.

The governing party and the government, however, are not convinced. "If he becomes president," said Mr. Suh, the assemblyman, "Korea will become the Hyundai Republic."

"Unless Chairman Chung separates from Hyundai, there will be problems," said Mr. Kim. Most observers say they do not think Mr. Chung will win the election if he chooses to run.

HARASS: A First in Japan

(Continued from page 1)

weekly magazine column for "office ladies" said she opposed lawsuits except in cases of rape or assault.

The media coined the concept as "seku hana" and some hostess bars for men took the term for their name. Men wrote letters complaining that their innocent jokes and remarks were being misinterpreted.

The reaction to the ruling Thursday appeared to be generally positive. In a news broadcast about the decision Thursday night, persons interviewed in the streets generally supported it, but a young man smiled and said: "I agree with it, but I might try sexual harassment some day when I'm older."

There have been harassment cases in the past, but with ambiguous verdicts. In one case last year, a woman was awarded damages after saying she was sexually harassed by a business trip. Another received damages when she said a colleague threatened her when she refused to go to a hotel with him.

But these earlier cases were won by the plaintiffs because the men did not show up in court. What distinguished the case in Fukui was that it was vigorously contested, and the actions by the man consisted entirely of remarks that were not direct threats.

This ruling was epoch-making," said Mizuko Fukuhama, a lawyer who has been active in sexual harassment and other cases. "It acknowledges that this is a legitimate issue for women, and it was important that the court found the company guilty, as well as the man who made the comments."

Many women's groups feared that the case would decide the way a prosecutor should sue a man, when he decided not to indict a male member of a local prefectural assembly for grabbing a woman's breast at a reception and saying, "This is a proper manner in which to treat a woman."

The prosecutor said that, though the legislator was guilty of lewd behavior, he was drunk at the time and had suffered sufficient punishment by virtue of his position in the local Liberal Democratic Party.

BANK: Milan Court Officially Takes the Sheen Off a Golden Reputation

(Continued from page 1)

Ricardo Sassoli de Bianchi of the banks Analfitica S.r.l. in Milan. "It was an image thing," said Ms. Keith of County Natwest, explaining the price fall. "It came at a time that was convicted."

Flavio Creda of Barclays De Zott went in London said that "as things stand now, De Benedetti's conviction should not make the slightest difference to the management of Olivetti."

The court banned Mr. De Benedetti and the other defendants from managing companies for 10 years, but the ban will only come into effect if the verdict is upheld on appeal.

Mr. De Benedetti, who was born into a prosperous Turin home, started his career as an engineer in

the family metal business and came to challenge Giovanni Agnelli, chairman of Fiat SpA, as Italy's foremost industrialist. But his \$1.5 billion bid to take over Belgium's Societe Generale in 1988 failed, thwarting his plans to create a vast pan-European business empire.

The court imposed a sentence on Mr. Benedetti two months longer than the prosecution had asked. "The sentence is as unexpected as it is disconcerting for anyone who knows the facts and still believes in justice," the financier's lawyers said.

They said that "not one piece of evidence emerged as to the co-responsibility of Carlo De Benedetti in the collapse of Banco Ambrosiano."

The prosecutor, Pier Luigi Dell'Oso, had also sought to indict Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, the former president of the Institute for Religious Works, commonly known as the Vatican Bank.

The disclosure of the lodge brought down the government of Arnaldo Forlani in 1981. Another leader of the lodge, Umberto Ortolani, received a 19-year sentence.

The court also imposed a six-year and four-month sentence on Giuseppe Ciarrapico, a Roman financier, soccer team owner and close friend of Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti. It said he had illegally received funds from the Ambrosiano bank to set up his mineral water company.

"This can only be resolved if the country moves to a more mature and transparent structure of regulation," the stock analyst said.

"What is going on now is about as sensible as two shipwreck survivors fighting on a desert island: They are stuck with each other."

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REAL ESTATE MARKETPLACE

Real estate marketplace section containing numerous sub-sections for different regions: FRANCE (Cannes, St. Jean Cap Ferat, etc.), SWITZERLAND (Cran-Montana, Riviera SA, etc.), ITALY (Costa Smeralda, etc.), GERMANY (Düsseldorf, etc.), HOLLAND (Netherlands), SPAIN (Madrid, etc.), and others. Each listing includes property details, prices, and contact information for agents.

HARASS: A First in Japan

(Continued from page 1)

The media coined the term "seku hara" and some women for men took the term for a name. Men wrote letters saying that their innocent remarks were being misinterpreted.

The reaction to the ruling appeared to be generally positive. In a news broadcast on Thursday night, interviewed in the streets, people expressed their support for the decision. "Thursday night, interviewed in the streets, people expressed their support for the decision. 'I agree with the court's decision, but I might try sexual harassment some day when I'm older.'"

There have been harassment cases in the past, but with our verdicts. In one case last year, a woman was awarded damages for saying that a man assaulted her in a restaurant. Another woman was awarded damages when she said a colleague threatened her when she refused to go to a hotel with him.

But these earlier cases were not the plaintiffs because they did not show up in court. The court distinguished the case in that it was vigorously argued and the actions by the harasser were of a more serious nature.

The ruling was an epoch-making case. It was the first time a woman has been awarded damages for sexual harassment. It is a landmark case for women, and it was the first time that the court found that a man guilty of sexual harassment. Many women's groups hope that the case would be a precedent for other cases. One woman, who has been active in sexual harassment and other cases, says she knows that this is a landmark case for women, and it was the first time that the court found that a man guilty of sexual harassment.

The prosecutor said that although the regulator was not a doctor, he was drunk at the time and had suffered self-harm by virtue of the fact that he had been forced to resign from the local Liberal Democratic Party.

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INTERNATIONAL **Herald Tribune**

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

A Hand to Steady Poland

Poland has arrived at a peculiarly difficult stage of the great transition from a community state to democracy and an open economy. Prime Minister Jan Olszewski was in Washington this week to remind Americans of his dilemma. Poland is making good progress in reorganizing the economy. But this means wiping out a lot of jobs and letting the standard of living fall temporarily. While the policy is working in technical terms, it is losing public support fast. To persevere requires Mr. Olszewski's government to ignore the polls, difficult for any democratic government and especially for a new one. But to let the policy would require much more money for subsidies and benefits — money that Poland does not have and that the West will not lend. Western aid is contingent on sticking with the original plan, the shock treatment.

Be Fair With the House

The overblown House bank scandal has already driven valuable public servants from Congress, with scores more likely to leave. In one poll, two-thirds of the respondents say they are inclined to vote against any member who bounced as few as 10 checks, and in there were many such checks, to favor prosecution.

Such overblown reactions can only reflect vast ignorance of what this "scandal" really amounts to. If there was ever a time for the public to work hard to be fair, this is the week. The House ethics committee is publishing the list of more than 300 members who wrote at least one overdraft check on their House bank accounts.

GM's Life-Buoy Plan

Finally, after a series of genuine disasters, the General Motors board has begun to take action openly and clearly. The company's share of the American market has long been in decline; last year GM lost \$4.5 billion. Now the board has replaced GM's president and its chief financial officer and is pressing its chairman, Robert Stempel, for a faster and more vigorous response to these reverses. The board's intervention is remarkable only because it comes very late.

Other Comment

Tougher Action Is Needed

Although Moammar Gadhafi is obviously rattled by the UN action against Libya, the sanctions are relatively harmless. Libya's land borders and sea lanes are still wide open. Only its air traffic is halted.

Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Cantonment Rd., Singapore (011) Tel: 473-7768 Telex: RS59928

other former Soviet republics. Economic aid to Russia and Ukraine to revive industry there will also provide indirect but powerful support to Poland.

Foreign investment can create jobs and lift income in Poland, but that raises another dilemma. The leading source of foreign money is Germany, reawakening memories of Poland's terrible suffering under Nazi occupation in World War II. Signs of public resentment have persuaded investors (not only from Germany) to back off while some, but perhaps not all, government officials are working hard to recruit more of them.

In February, Mr. Olszewski announced a retreat from the rigors of the shock treatment. The reaction from abroad — and from some Poles, including President Lech Walesa — was sharply negative. Last month, in response, the prime minister changed course again, returning to a tighter budget much closer to the original plan. Poland knows that it really has only one way to go. Mr. Olszewski told Washington last week — but that way is not getting any easier.

And House bank records show he paid up promptly. This record offers scant basis for a cloud over his reputation.

The House bank was miserably managed — even after alarming audits. And many members were sloppy in how they kept track of their balances. But sloppiness is no crime. Voters need to distinguish among degrees of culpability. If there turn out to have been any criminal violations, they should be dealt with severely.

Beyond that, any members who may have written interest-free overdrafts and invested the money surely behaved unethically toward their colleagues.

It is possible to make some comparative judgments among the 22 cited as abusers. Representative Stephen Solarz, Democrat of New York, who had 53 checks returned for insufficient funds, would rank well ahead of Mr. Mrazek, who bounced none. But whether or not some members rank ahead or behind others, the important questions are:

Did the public suffer? Were any taxpayer funds lost? The answers, in almost every case, are no. If voters mean to be fair to the 300 members whose names are cited, they will keep in mind that collectively the members were using, or abusing, their own money.

Members were routinely allowed to write overdrafts up to the amount of their next month's pay. Once the overdrafts exceeded that level, the bank typically called to ask for a deposit.

No taxpayer funds were used to cover the checks members wrote on insufficient funds. The bank used money from the accounts of other members, who were in effect making free loans to their colleagues, at no cost to themselves.

The ethics committee has already determined that 22 members abused their banking privilege by "repeatedly" and "routine-

ly" running overdrafts in excess of their next month's pay. But that reasonable-sounding standard caught some members whose behavior was probably not offensive.

Consider the case of Bob Mrazek, the capable New York Democrat who was forced to abandon his underdog campaign for the Senate last week. He was cited for 520 overdrafts. Yet he did not bounce a single check.

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In the New World, Aim for a Balance of Restraint

WASHINGTON — The end of the 20th century promises a climate of peace, a welcome prospect that many find difficult to believe. For almost 60 years — from 1930, when Japan threatened Manchuria, during the era when Hitler sought world conquest, to 1990, when the Soviet Union gave up Eastern Europe — the overriding fact of life for most of the world was war or the threat of war, posed by three states with enormous military strength and an appetite for expansion.

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Idea for Jerusalem: Two Flags, One Undivided City

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As Old Ideologies Fall, Where Are the New Ideas?

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1892: Jews to the Red Sea

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1917: A Call for Sacrifice

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Maastricht: Europe at The Brink

By Flora Lewis
PARIS — The glow of the Treaty of Maastricht has produced a hangover. Now it has to be ratified in each of the European Community's 12 members. That will not be easy.

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IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO
1892: Jews to the Red Sea
CAIRO — The German Dr. Friedmann, director of the emigration of Russian Jews to the Red Sea district, has just left for Chern Monyek, situated at the extremity of the peninsula of Sinai, to rejoin the rest of the expedition.
1917: A Call for Sacrifice
WASHINGTON — President Wilson has addressed a stirring appeal to the nation, asking for prompt, patriotic co-operation from every branch of industry, commerce and agriculture in order that both America and the Allies be plentifully supplied, particularly with food.
1942: Landing on Panay
WASHINGTON — [From our New York edition:] Japanese troops extended their operations in the Philippines today [April 16], landing force on the central island of Panay under cover of naval guns and aircraft, while the American forces in Manila Bay continued to beat off enemy bombers and pound supply lines and gun emplacements, causing heavy damage and casualties to Japanese forces within range of their heavy artillery, the War Department revealed. The Japanese troops included while Japanese naval units attacked the defenders and aircraft attacked them. One of the landings was made at the important southern port of Iloilo, fifth largest city in the Philippines.

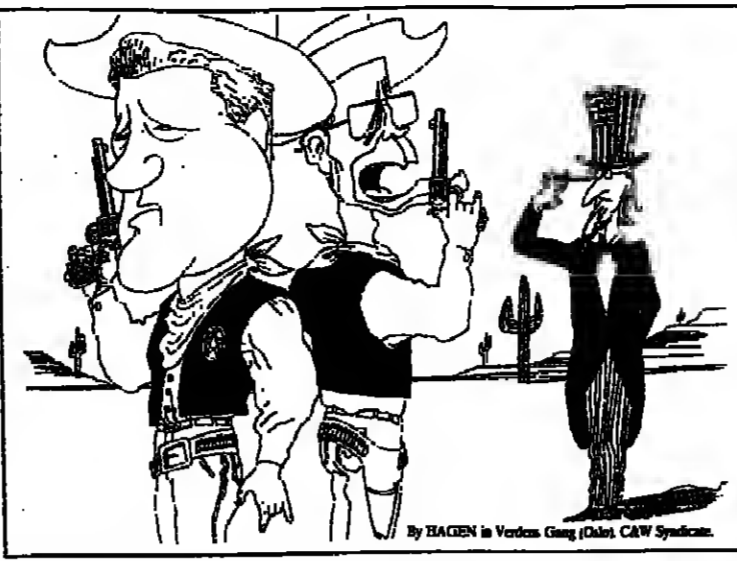
OPINION

In a Nationwide Snarlfest, The Loser Is Democracy

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Outrage is in the fashion color for spring is red. The national gorge is on the rise. Pollsters assure us that this is the year of the mad-as-hell voter.

Television news has tapped into the hyperarticulated frustration. Its anchors are heard spreading the disparaging word, and its cameras linger lovingly on images of joblessness, homelessness, hopelessness and listlessness.



By HAGEN in Worden (Cartoonist: CAW Spindler)

ed at the demonstrated shortcomings of George Bush; Democrats vent their wrath at being forced to accept a "flawed candidacy" of Bill Clinton.

creating a constituency of the dispossessed. Enter H. Ross Perot, the man on computer. He scoops up the troops of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Brown, inherits the wind of resentment and buys loose votes with a billionaire's riches without causing concern because he is seen to be "too rich to steal."

She Wanted to Die on Her Terms

By Karin Stevens Connolly

SUN CITY, Arizona — My mother wanted me to write this. Before I left Iowa for Arizona, I asked a local physician to make it possible for me to assist my mother in committing suicide, since she had been diagnosed as having an aggressive cancer. His advice: "Let nature take its course."

But how do we interpret nature's course? Tuberculosis is natural; smallpox is natural; childhood diabetes and leukemia are both natural. My local health-food store has signs exhorting customers to "Obey the laws of nature."

The reverse command, "Break nature's laws," is equally meaningless. Alexander Pope wrote in the 18th century, "Nature and nature's laws lay hid in endless night. / God said, 'Let Newton be,' and there was light."

My mother does not want to die; she wants to kill the cancer she has imagined as a "big yellow cat" clawing at her from the inside.

I do not think my mother would accept a lethal injection. The struggle between life and death in her is not yet a zero-sum game. I told her what another doctor had told me — that if she fasted she would quickly enter a state of "euphoria."

My mother has refused morphine — the drug of choice for dying cancer patients, urged on them by doctors and nurses. She cried when she saw on the news that Dr. Jack Kevorkian — inventor of the "suicide machine" — had been indicted for murder.

He says he will handle the deficit by eliminating "waste, fraud and abuse." But it is Americans' indulgence of selfish grumpiness that is the waste. It is the notion that the democratic system is unfair that is a fraud.

My mother would like to see the Bill of Rights for the terminally ill be amended to say, "I have the right to be offered the choice of a medically induced death."

Shallow Is as Shallow Does

Regarding the report "In This Sterile Dilemma, Life Is but a Theme" (April 9): Although I am repulsed by the polluting of the French countryside by Euro tourists, I found Stephen Bayley's article pompous and misinformed.

have the imagination to turn a child's dream into something real. I wonder if Mr. Bayley will drag his own screaming child through the Louvre, force-feeding him on lost or stolen art works, or if he will end up taking the child to Euro Disney, in hopes of learning something valuable: a creative spirit.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

people's lives. Considering Deng Xiaoping's avowed wish to open the country to capitalism, I was filled with hope. And in May 1989, amid huge crowds demonstrating in and around Tiananmen Square, I felt infected by their tremendous enthusiasm.

But in 1990, the hard-core Marxists came again had things well in hand. And last year my friends in Beijing and Shanghai almost refused to meet me, for fear of possible sanctions.

The Ottoman Jews

Regarding the report "Spain Reconciles With Jews" (April 1) by Alan Riding: It should be noted that an estimated 250,000 Jews found sanctuary in Turkish lands after being run out of Spain in 1492. The Ottoman Jewish community became not only the largest but the most prosperous Jewish community in the world.

China remains a totalitarian country par excellence, which hypocritically, imperturbably and in Machiavellian fashion has promoted economic development and foreign trade in order to better impose Communist rule on its people.

Democratic Protest

Regarding "American Voters Protest Too Much" (Opinion, April 7): William Safire scolds American voters for protesting too much. He forgets that protest voting is a worldwide phenomenon, affecting all the self-styled democracies.

Make a Deal With China

During my first visit to China, 13 years ago, I found the system to be quite hard on people. But I reserved judgment. On my 15th visit, in 1985, I noted a clear relaxation of the rules governing

GENERAL NEWS

TV Marti: 2 Years, \$47 Million, 0 Viewers

By Lee Hockstader Washington Post Service MIAMI — In 1990 the Bush administration launched a propaganda project meant to crack President Fidel Castro's near monopoly on news and information inside Cuba. It was TV Marti: a television station run by the U.S. government, staffed in Washington by dozens of reporters, editors, anchors, producers and technicians and beamed to Havana via a party balloon named Fat Albert.

By their success in radio, Mr. Mas turned to television. There were technical challenges: The signal would be beamed from Washington via satellite to a receiving station on Cudjoe Key, Florida, and up again about 10,000 feet, Fat Albert, a tethered, hollow-filled aerostat the size of a whale.

By virtually no one consulted in Cuba believes even the lower figure. In interviews with scores of Havana residents during a half-dozen trips to Cuba, none reported ever having seen TV Marti, although many say they have tried. Foreign correspondents in Havana say they have never seen TV Marti and know no one who has.

Mr. Navarro insisted that TV Marti is worth the price. "People know that it's up there, that we care," he said. "There assume there must be something very good about it or Castro would not expend scarce resources like fuel and electricity to jam it."

'Shy' Peru Leader Tests the Sacred Cows

By James Brooke New York Times Service LIMA — Alberto Fujimori has lived up to his nickname, the Emperor. Four months ago, the Peruvian president told a business conference, "Even though it might be convenient if there were an emperor, that emperor won't be me, because I'm very respectful of the constitution."

Force authority last week to control airports and to shoot down unauthorized planes in the major drug-growing region. Last month it was the turn of officials in Japan to fume. On a weeklong visit, Mr. Fujimori met the emperor, addressed parliament in Japanese, visited his parents' hometown and negotiated a \$126 million aid package. On leaving, he told reporters the pack money was "insufficient."

U.S. officials were furious when Mr. Fujimori, at a regional conference on drugs in Texas in February, accused the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration of "corruption" and then warned that stationing American military advisers in Peru could provoke another Vietnam War.

U.S. officials have long asserted that Peruvian corruption prevents a crackdown on the nation's coca leaf crop, the world's largest. In an obvious effort to soothe American feelings, Mr. Fujimori gave the Peruvian Air

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MARKET DIARY

Blue Chips Rise, Other Issues Slip

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK — Stocks ended mixed Thursday...

Board. Volume totaled 235 million shares...

Investors, beatened by a stream of stronger-than-expected first-quarter earnings...

U.S. government securities declined on data indicating that the labor market may be bottoming out...

N.Y. Stocks

rose 1 1/2 to 1 1/4. Alcoa, up 2 to 70 1/2...

GM paced the Big Board rally after a published report that some optimistic management projections suggested the No. 1 U.S. automaker could report a slim profit in the first quarter...

Traders said the so-called double-whitching hour, the monthly expiration of stock-index futures and options on the same day...

Declines topped advances by about a 9-8 margin on the Big

The Labor Department reported that new claims for state unemployment insurance benefits fell 18,000 for the week ending April 4...

Also Thursday, Federal Reserve Governor John LaWare raised his estimate of U.S. economic growth and predicted the unemployment rate would begin to fall by the end of the year.

Mr. LaWare said he expected first-quarter gross domestic product, due out later this month, to show a 2 percent annual growth rate, up from the 1 percent rate he predicted a few weeks ago.

TRADE: U.S. Gap at 9-Year Low

(Continued from page 1) Deutsche marks, up from 1.6625 on Wednesday...

It also finished at 1.5445 Swiss francs, up from 1.5325, and at 5.6405 French francs, up from 5.6220...

Traders said the dollar was likely to continue to be supported by con-

currency also finished at 133.80 yen, up from 133.15 yen at the previous close.

A number of traders said there had been active buying of both dollars and marks for Swiss francs.

The pound, meanwhile, maintained the strong form that has seen it rise climb 6 pence in the week since the Conservatives won the general election...

Foreign Exchange

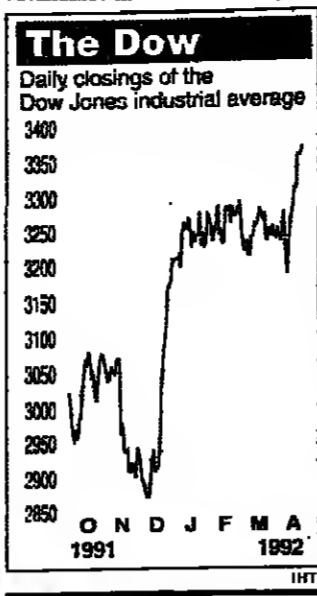
cerns over the United Nations sanctions imposed on Libya and by political tensions in Russia.

But they said that speculation of a further cut in U.S. interest rates because of declining U.S. money supply might blunt the dollar's surge.

We still expect that a further easing is likely soon, bringing M-3 money to around our target of 3.75 percent...

In late London trading, the dollar stood at 1.6680 DM, up from 1.6575 on Wednesday.

The U.S.



The Dow Jones Industrial Average

Table with columns: Vol., High, Low, Last, Chg. for NYSE Most Actives.

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Table with columns: Class, Prev. for NYSE Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for Amex Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for NASDAQ Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for NYSE Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for Amex Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for NASDAQ Diary.

Table with columns: Open, High, Low, Last, Chg. for Dow Jones Averages.

Table with columns: High, Low, Close, Chg. for NYSE Indexes.

Table with columns: High, Low, Close, Chg. for NYSE Most Actives.

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Table with columns: Class, Prev. for Amex Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for NASDAQ Diary.

Table with columns: Close, High, Low, Prev. Close for EUROPEAN FUTURES.

Table with columns: High, Low, Close, Chg. for NYSE Most Actives.

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Table with columns: Class, Prev. for Amex Diary.

Table with columns: Class, Prev. for NASDAQ Diary.

\$1.1 Billion Gain for Philip Morris NEW YORK (Combined Dispatches) — Philip Morris Cos. on Thursday reported net income for first quarter of \$1.1 billion...

Bristol-Myers Has 11% Rise in Profit NEW YORK (Combined Dispatches) — Bristol-Myers Squibb Co. reported Thursday that its first-quarter net income rose 11 percent...

Texas Instruments Swings to Profit DALLAS (UPI) — Texas Instruments Inc., after huge losses last year, reported on Thursday a first-quarter profit of \$40 million...

Dealer Loan Scam on GM Alleged NEW YORK (AFP) — A Long Island businessman allegedly cleaned the money to finance a business report by saying he was using the money to finance a business report...

For the Record Reebok International Ltd. reported record first-quarter profits of \$62.3 million up from \$58.4 million for the year-ago period.

BANKS: 3 Post Higher Profits (Continued from first finance page) performing assets — badly delinquent loans and real estate acquired through foreclosure...

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Table with columns: Close, Prev. for various world stock markets including Amsterdam, Hong Kong, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, Zurich, Stockholm, Montreal, Toronto.

HANSON: Angling for More American Investors

(Continued from first finance page) manded open to selling companies or acquiring new ones.

In the United States, the most likely targets are extensions of existing businesses.

"To invest in Hanson, you have to expect that the economy is going to get better," said Sidney J. Heller, who follows the company in New York for Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc.

U.S. FUTURES

Table with columns: Season, High, Low, Open, High, Low, Close, Chg. for various U.S. futures markets including Grains, Soybean Meal, Lumber, Live Stock, Food.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Table with columns: Close, High, Low, Prev. Close for various European futures markets including Food, Industrials, Stock Indexes, Dividends.

COMMODITY INDEXES

Table with columns: Close, Prev. for various commodity indexes including S&P 100 Index Options, N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading, S&P 100 Index Options.

MARKET GUIDE

Table with columns: Name, Price, Change for various market guide items including NYSE, Amex, NASDAQ, and various indices.

MARKET GUIDE

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SPORTS BASEBALL

What, David Stern Worry? But Someday They'll Lose

By Ian Thomson

ISTANBUL — David Stern said he is not going to worry. He is smiling. He is not going to be nervous, he said, because why should he be? Of course they might lose. Is that going to destroy the business? The answer is no. Absolutely not. Yet you know, when he is sitting amid the cramped audience this summer, watching his team warming up against the other team, that every wisp of logic is going to suddenly abandon him, and he is going to hear his chest thumping like a 12-year-old kid contending to ask the girl in the desk behind him for a date. He is the commissioner of the National Basketball Association, and he is going to be in the front row of the first time he is going to watch the NBA Finals in the United States. He is going to be in the front row of the first time he is going to watch the NBA Finals in the United States. He is going to be in the front row of the first time he is going to watch the NBA Finals in the United States.



Manny Lee of the Blue Jays leaping over the Yankees' Danny Tartabull to go for the double play.

Gooden, Regaining Form, Leads Mets Past Phillies, 7-2

The Associated Press Dwight Gooden and the New York Mets are starting to feel a little better about themselves. After losing four straight games at home, the Mets made it two in a row at Shea Stadium on Wednesday night with a 7-2 victory over the Philadelphia Phillies. Gooden, whose season was cut short last year by shoulder surgery, lost his first start of the year last week despite allowing only three hits in 6 1/2 innings against Montreal. On Wednesday he again pitched into the seventh inning, and left after 107 pitches. "Each time, I feel better about myself," Gooden said after limiting Philadelphia to four hits and two runs. "I don't expect anything to set me back." Gooden acknowledged that he tried to throw only about five pitches as hard as he could, and out of all of those fastballs cracked as much as he wanted on a cold night. "Sometimes you reach for a little extra and it's there, sometimes it's not," he said. Eddie Murray hit a two-run double with two outs in the first inning. Dave Gallagher followed with an RBI single and Darryl Loston hit a two-run homer, giving the Mets a 5-0 lead against Kyle Abbott. The Phillies, meanwhile, did not get a hit off Gooden, or hit the ball out of the infield, until Darren Daulton's double with one out in the fourth. "Each time out, he gets a little better," said the Mets' manager, Jeff Torborg. "He changed speeds nicely and had a good fastball." Reds 3, Braves 1: Chris Hammond scattered four hits in eight innings as Cincinnati swept a three-game series from Atlanta at home for the first time since 1978. Big Roberts singled twice, drove in two runs and scored the other off Charlie Leibrandt. Hammond lasted eight innings for the first time in 20 major league starts. Astros 5, Dodgers 4: In Houston, rookie Scott Servais singled home the tie-breaking run in the sixth as the Astros took two of three games in the series with Los Angeles. With the score 4-4, Ken Caminiti led off the sixth with a walk off starter Bob Ojeda. Casey Candaele sacrificed Caminiti to second and Servais followed with a loop single to right. The Dodgers took a 3-0 lead in the first inning off winner Mark Portugal on Eric Davis's two-run single and Dave Hansen's RBI single. Cardinals 4, Expos 2: Both Tewksbury pitched six solid innings and St. Louis scored four unearned runs in Montreal for the victory. Ken Hill, a former Cardinal, was the loser. Gerald Perry pinch hit for Tewksbury in the seventh and delivered a sacrifice fly for the go-ahead run, snapping a 1-1 tie. Pirates 7, Cubs 2: In Pittsburgh, pinch-hitters Cecil Espy and Lloyd McClendon, a combined 12 for 15 this season, drove to three runs in the sixth to help the Pirates beat Chicago. The Pirates have won six of their eight games this season, and have won 16 of the last 18 games against the Cubs at Three Rivers Stadium. Padres 5, Giants 3: In San Francisco, Kevin Ward slammed a pinch-hit, two-run homer in the eighth off Bryan Hickerson as San Diego won its fifth straight game. Craig Lefferts, a converted reliever, won for the first time since Aug. 26, 1991, by allowing three runs and seven hits to seven innings. Red Sox 6, Orioles 5: In Boston, Jody Reed broke an eighth-inning tie with a two-run single. The game was tied, 4-4, when Tom Brunansky and Mo Vaughn singled. Tim Lincecum sacrificed, Wade Boggs was walked intentionally and Reed singled for a 6-4 lead.

Top Men In Tennis Entered In France

PARIS — The two-time French Open champion Andre Agassi is among the top 100 players ranked for the French Open, which starts May 25. Only one player from the United States is in the top 100. Agassi is ranked 68th, and is expected to be a strong contender for the title. He is the only American player in the top 100. Agassi is ranked 68th, and is expected to be a strong contender for the title. He is the only American player in the top 100.

Tarkanian To Keep Runnin'

SAN ANTONIO — Jerry Tarkanian is jumping from college to the pros by joining the San Antonio Spurs, but he says his coaching style won't take a quantum leap. Tarkanian, named the coach of the Spurs on Wednesday, said his successful UNLV National Basketball Association teams do not mean he will be a "multitier" coach. Tarkanian said he would spend time observing the Spurs and watching game videotapes before deciding on specific changes. He said improving the team's running game and continuing to concentrate on defense will be high priorities. "I know the personnel here and I like the team very much," Tarkanian said. "There's tremendous potential here, and I hope we can put everything together right." He will take over after this season. Bob Bass, the Spurs' vice president of basketball operations, will continue as interim coach until Bass, as he has since Larry Brown fired Jan. 21. The Spurs' owner, Red McCombe, said Tarkanian had agreed to a "multiyear" deal. Contract terms were not disclosed. Tarkanian will be the team's color commentator for the remainder of the season. A report in the San Antonio Express-News Thursday said Tarkanian had received a two-year contract worth \$300,000 per season plus an option year.

SCOREBOARD

Table with Major League Standings, American League, and National League sections, showing team names, wins, losses, and percentages.

Wednesday's Line Scores

Table with American League and National League sections, showing game results, scores, and key players.

Japanese Baseball

Table with Central League and Pacific League sections, showing game results, scores, and key players.

Royals Come Up Shy to Bash-Full A's

The Associated Press The bashing Oakland Athletics — a team you never had a big enough lead against while they were winning three straight American League pennants — are back at it. Down 6-1 on Wednesday night, the A's erupted for four runs in the fifth on homers by Ricky Henderson and Jose Canseco, then took the lead with a three-run seventh capped by Scott Brosius's two-run single and went on to defeat the Royals, 10-6, in Kansas City, Missouri. After Henderson's three-run homer, Canseco followed with a huge solo shot that shaved the Royals' lead to 6-5. Canseco was 4-for-5 for the night. Jeff Parrett got the victory with 2 1/2 innings in relief. The loser was Mike Marmat, who surrendered a game-tying RBI single to Willie Wilson before Brosius's two-run single. Vince Horanman pitched 2 1/2 innings of two-hit relief for his first major league save. Wally Joyner had four hits and Brian McRae had a single, double and triple for Kansas City, off to its worst start at 1-8. Brewers 7, Twins 4: The Twins rallied for three runs in the ninth to tie it, 4-4, in Minneapolis. Then Milwaukee got three in the top of the 10th to win it. B. J. Surhoff's one-out single scored two runs. Scott Fletcher singled to start.

AMERICAN LEAGUE

Table with Eastern Conference and Western Conference sections, showing team names, wins, losses, and percentages.

BASKETBALL

Table with NBA Standings section, showing team names, wins, losses, and percentages.

HOCKEY

Table with NHL Standings section, showing team names, wins, losses, and percentages.

SIDELINES

Partizan Belgrade Wins in Basketball ISTANBUL (IHT) — Alexander Djordjevic hit a 3-pointer in the last four seconds to give Partizan Belgrade a 71-70 victory over Joventut Badalona Thursday for the European basketball championship. Six seconds earlier, a drive by Tomas Jofresa had given Joventut a 70-68 lead, bringing the largely pro-Spanish crowd to its feet. Djordjevic, with 23 points, rushed the ball down the floor and put up his off-balance prayer over three defenders. Predrag Danilovic led Partizan with 25 points and was named Final Four MVP. In the consolation game, Philips Milan took third place by beating Esudiantes Madrid, 99-81, on 20 points by John Rogers. WENTWORTH, England (Reuters) — The Swedish golfer Johan Tumba, who was banned for 10 years from the European Tour in January for changing his scorecard, had his suspension reduced to three years on appeal on Thursday. Tumba, 28, had been found guilty of altering his scorecard at the European Tour's pre-qualifiers in France in October. His appeal was heard at the Tour's headquarters at Wentworth on Thursday. The British Ryder Cup captain, Bernard Gallacher, was among four members of the Tour's board of directors who heard the appeal and decided the original punishment was too severe. Tumba and his lawyer, Robert Reid, said they would consider another appeal, to the High Court. 8 Cities Want Olympics Site in 2000 LAUSANNE, Switzerland (AP) — Eight cities have submitted official requests to stage the Summer Olympics in the year 2000, the International Olympic Committee said Thursday. The IOC said bids were submitted by Berlin, Beijing, Brasilia, Istanbul, Manchester, England, Milan, Sydney, and Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The deadline for entries was midnight Wednesday. The IOC will make its choice at a meeting in September 1993. Ben Hogan Items Stolen From Club FORT WORTH, Texas (AP) — Priceless momentos belonging to the golf legend Ben Hogan, including the diamond-encrusted gold belt buckle he received as winner of the 1953 U.S. Amateur, have been stolen from the trophy room at the Colonial Country Club. A \$5,000 reward was posted by club officials Wednesday for information leading to the conviction of the thief and for the return of the items stolen Monday night from the club's Ben Hogan Trophy Room. For the Record The South African rugby union's chief, Danie Craven, said Thursday that the union would postpone its June tour of Italy and Romania after threats by an anti-apartheid group to disrupt the tour. (Reuters) Team Selma, Finland's brightest ice hockey star, declined Thursday to play for the national team in the World Ice Hockey Championships to Czechoslovakia, April 28 to May 10. (AP)

Advertisement for AT&T USADirect Service, featuring the slogan 'OUT OF YOUR ELEMENT?' and a list of international phone numbers for various countries.

OBSERVER

Perot for President?

By Russell Baker
NEW YORK — We can have New Ross Perot for president if we ask him. He is a businessman and a rare example of the species nowadays: hasn't even gone bankrupt, apparently.
This raises the question whether he is really a businessman or just another billionaire poseur, like the late J. Paul Getty, who parlayed his oil gold into an excuse for endlessly disgoring his philosophy of life into the columns of Playboy magazine.
Is Perot merely trying to parlay his billions into a mess of State of the Union bromides? If he succeeds will Perot's administration be as brain-numbing as J. Paul Getty's philosophy of life? Or is Perot the real thing, the businessman America yearns for?
Americans are always saying we should get rid of politicians and put businessmen in charge. They believe businessmen are masters of efficiency with the know-how to end waste, or, as it is now called, "redundancy."
If you are a Wall Street Journal junkie you know what to expect of a government led by an authentic businessman: first, dramatic cost-cutting techniques. The pioneer in the art was Frank Lorenzo, who took Continental Airlines into bankruptcy so he could break its labor contracts.
Lorenzo's is a tempting lesson for the White House business-type. See him face-to-face with Geraldine, the staggering costs created by various obligatory cash disbursements popularly called "Social Security." Remembering Lorenzo, he probably says, "Why not bankrupt the country and end this money hemorrhage once and for all?"
Sure, congressional nit-pickers would whine. They'd say the Lorenzo strategy was unconstitutional, or unfair, or un-something-or-other. They'd say bankruptcy for the world's wealthiest nation was transparently phony. Until we purge Congress of politicians and fill it up with efficient, cost-cutting businessmen, such protest will be the norm, but it is easily crushed.
The winning riposte goes like this: "Yes, we are the world's wealthiest nation, and we can easily recover from bankruptcy and restore Social Security if Congress would like to raise taxes."

Reflections on Whiteness: One Diagnosis

By Lynne Duke

Washington Post Service
NEW YORK — Andrew Hacker is talking about whiteness, saying it's a "condition," like a "virus" of the psyche. It makes whites react to blacks as superiors to inferiors. Whiteness perceives blackness as a "stain," like a drop of ink in water. Whiteness is a delusional state of mind that is used to justify slavery and that persists to this day to justify white privilege. White people know these things somewhere deep down, says Hacker, but they will it away, act like it's not true.
"Everybody of Caucasian, European descent does believe we belong to a superior strain," says the courtly professor and author of a much-disputed new book, "Two Nations, Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal."
"I could go further and say that I may believe this and hate myself for believing it and wish I didn't believe it and wish I could exercise this belief from my mind. That was the Jeffersonian dilemma, and he couldn't. And I'm afraid most of us can't. That's part of the human condition."
Hacker is distressed by white America. On moral grounds, it "has a lot to face about itself," he says. He says he hopes his white readers will at least stop and think about themselves and the "unearned privileges" they get simply by virtue of their color. "It's not so much that you should feel bad about it and go around knocking your head against a wall — men culpa, mea culpa. But at least you should understand."
Hacker, 62, offers only a diagnosis, no cure. He is the cool, dispassionate observer, not any kind of activist. He won't even peg himself politically. Wryly, he offers this: "I could say, I'm a historian. I simply sit on a cloud and look down on what fools these mortals be."
Author of seven books and frequent contributor to The New York Review of Books and The New York Times, Hacker teaches political science at Queens College.
When he started this latest book six years ago, Hacker thought he'd be writing about "race relations." But the phrase seemed to imply more engagement, more reciprocity, than really exists. Black and white are here, together, coexisting — that is true. But "relations" as a way of characterizing race "didn't work," Hacker says.
"We're in the same box," he says, "but all the time still two nations." Eventually, this condition of whiteness emerged to Hacker as "the great truth."
Against a statistical backdrop on the quality of life for blacks and whites, Hacker's book, released by Charles Scribner's Sons earlier this year, paints a grim and complicated picture of racial interaction. The condition is "chronic," he says in an interview, "almost like a cancer."
"From slavery through the present, this nation has never opened its doors sufficiently to give black Americans a chance to become full citizens," he writes. Yes, progress has been made, he says. But with it have come rising expectations that remain unfulfilled.
With an array of government statistics on measures of well-being such as education, family life, income, crime and welfare, Hacker constructs a racial paradigm with the effect of whiteness at its center.
In Hacker's paradigm, for instance, the SAT scores of affluent black teens are about the same as poor white teens because, even in affluence, blacks tend to live in black neighborhoods, go to segregated black schools and churches, and are cut off by racial tradition from the white-defined cultural body of knowledge assumed by standardized tests.
In the paradigm, it is not accident of fate or the natural result of a fair and free market that, in 1990 median incomes, black families earned \$580 for every \$1,000 earned by white families.
Many analysts have concluded that this income disparity exists in large part because blacks tend to have less education than whites. But even allowing for education, Hacker says, something still is awry. Black male lawyers between 35 and 45 years old earn on average \$790 for every \$1,000 of their white counterparts, while black female lawyers in the same age group earn \$930 for every \$1,000 of their white counterparts.
"A suspicion cannot help but arise that some of the racial earnings spread among men stems from the fact that black men are given fewer opportunities to rise to better-paid positions," Hacker writes.
He also uses statistics to show that some trends generally associated with blacks also are at work among whites. Although the incidence of out-of-wedlock births and female-headed households for years has been disproportionately high among blacks, from 1950 to 1990 the rates increased at the same pace for whites, he writes.
In his paradigm, too, blacks killing each other and



Andrew Hacker: An academic considers white bread.

populating the United States' prisons in ever-rising numbers — 45 percent of all prisoners — are expressions not simply of "free acts performed of personal volition," but of "a despair that suffices much of their race."
That despair exists, Hacker says, because of the damaging effects of whiteness.
The book has been met with wildly mixed reviews. Tamar Jacoby wrote in The Wall Street Journal that Hacker's views are "patronizing" to blacks. Jim Sleeper of Newsday called the book an example of "white liberal guilt run amok." He attacked Hacker for making excuses for the troubles blacks face and "failing to keep faith with whites and independent-minded blacks."
Roger Wilkins, writing in the Boston Globe, called the book's effect "devastating." "We are left," he wrote, "with the crushing effect of what we have done to ourselves by using race as our defining tool and lying most of the time about what we are doing."
Tom Wicker, writing in The New York Times, said the "real value of the book, despite its wealth of data, is in Mr. Hacker's calm, analytical eye, his unblinking view of American history and his unwillingness to accept cant and 'common sense' as facts."
Hacker likes to think he is asking questions whose answers lie beneath the coded language of contemporary racial discourse.
"Of course there is fear of crime," he writes. "It crops up in every poll, and has become a conversation staple. Still, most white Americans do not live in or near areas where violence stalks the streets. Nor are most whites in situations where they may fail to obtain positions or promotions due to preferential policies favoring black applicants. Nor does a significant share of the taxes paid by white households support black families on welfare or out-of-wedlock children."
"However, then, can a minority so unsettle a national majority?"
Hacker answers his own question.
"I give you two options. You can either have \$500 in your pocket and be mugged by a white robber, or you can have \$20 and be accosted by a black. Which would you take? And all would much rather the white mugger," despite the loss of the larger sum.
"Now what is that? There's this dread of black crime. The Willie Horton syndrome. It is not simply 'He's gonna take your money,' but rather that in addition to taking your money he may take an extra minute, a second, and do something to pay back what your people have done to his people. That's the white dread."
Alexis de Tocqueville wrote 157 years ago, in "Democracy in America":
"The danger of conflict between the white and the black inhabitants perpetually haunts the imaginations of Americans, like a painful dream."
The haunting is one of the strains of what Hacker calls the "European virus," rooted in slavery like so much else in his view. And the creation of a rationale for slavery — the so-called superiority of whites, which he calls the "artifact of whiteness" — still haunts America too. He writes that among whites "there remains an unarticulated suspicion: might there be something about the black race that suited them for slavery? This is not to say anyone argues that human bondage was justified. Still, the facts that slavery existed for so long and was so labor for granted cannot be erased from American minds."

PEOPLE

Cannes Film Festival Gets Controversial Start

The organizers of the 1992 Cannes Film Festival were in no mood to sidestep controversy, with the choice for opening movie, Paul Verhoeven's "Basic Instinct," a U.S.-made thriller featuring lesbian, ice picks and sadomasochistic sex. "I know this film is provocative, but that's the way we want it, the festival director, Gilles Jacob, said. "There's nothing more boring than people just filing in to see film after film." Two former winners of the festival's Golden Palm, Denis Lynch and Billie August, joined 10 other participants in the festival's prestigious official selection. The president of the jury is the French actor Gérard Depardieu. Other jurors are the directors Pedro Almodóvar and John Boorman, the actress Jamie Lee Curtis and the Italian cinematographer Carlo Lizzani.

Everyone else seems to spawn imitators, so why shouldn't Christo, the specialist in wrapping such large objects as bridges and buildings and attracting press attention? New York is negotiating with the "environmental artists" Philipp Krebs and Sabine Latrasse, who plan to dress the Brooklyn Bridge, age 109, in a garment that resembles the top of a bikini. They hope to dress the bridge in its halcyon top in May 1993.

The lights illuminating the top of the Empire State Building in New York were turned off Wednesday to mark Inmate No. 15113-054's first night in prison. The inmate, known in civilian life as Leon Helsenley, 71, has begun a four-year term for tax evasion. She and her husband, Henry, 83, own the skyscraper, the darkening of which he called a "symbolic gesture."

Two of the items that brought the highest bids in the auction in Chicago of Al Capone's household effects were a mounted sailfish, which sold for \$5,200, and the gangster's autograph, which went for \$3,600. The signature is "one in a million," said Richard Morley, a private collector. "Gangster autographs put their names to anything." The name was attached to a Christmas card that Capone sent to a priest who had befriended him during his stay in Alcatraz prison in California.

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